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THE YOUNG ADULT--A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK. SUMMARY.

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THE DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE SPANNING THE YEARS FROM 18 TO 25 MUST BE STUDIED SEPARATELY FROM OTHER DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES. THE DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF THIS PERIOD ARE RELATED TO, BUT SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM, THOSE OF BOTH ADOLESCENCE AND ADULTHOOD. THE SEVEN MAJOR DEVELOPMENTAL VECTORS FOR THE YOUNG ADULT INCLUDE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPETENCE, MANAGEMENT OF EMOTIONS, DEVELOPMENT OF AUTONOMY, DEVELOPMENT OF IDENTITY, FREEING OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS, AND DEVELOPMENT OF PURPOSE AND INTEGRITY. BECAUSE UNIVERSAL HIGHER EDUCATION IS BECOMING A REALITY, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES MUST BROADEN THEIR PURPOSE TO INCLUDE NOT ONLY INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT BUT ALSO DEVELOPMENT OF THE YOUNG ADULT IN RELATION TO THE VECTORS OUTLINED ABOVE. (PS)

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Summary

The Young Adult - A Conceptual Framework

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Adolescence is a fruit of the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century and the technological revolution of the twentieth. The increasing complexity of society, the number of jobs requiring specialized skills and training, and the extension of free public education through high school, created an adolescent period where none existed before.

Complexity continues to increase, as does the need for skilled and specialized personnel. "Universal higher education" fast approaches. These new conditions are creating another developmental period during which certain changes may be fostered and certain aspects of development may predominate. Extending from age 17 or 18 into the middle or late twenties, this period is different from adolescence and from adulthood. For many it may be the last occasion for major change before the increased stability engendered by more fixed social, interpersonal, and occupational roles and responsibilities.

Research and theory concerning development during this period has increased dramatically in the past ten years. But these efforts have been largely "exploratory"; few theories have been framed, few hypotheses tested. Although much useful knowledge has been generated it remains in unintegrated form. The need for a systematic framework is acute. The snythesis offered here has proved useful as a way to organize the literature, as a basis for analyses of data concerning students, colleges, and their interactions, and as a set of ideas relevant to practical decisions.

The major constellations of development during adolescence and early adulthood have been variously formulated; as "growth trends," as "developmental tasks," as "stages of development," as "needs," as "problem areas," as "student typologies." Examination of these different formulations suggests seven major vectors of development, each of which has its major components. These seven vectors are labeled: (a) Development of Competence, comprising intellectual competence, interpersonal competence, the acquisition of physical and manual skills, and increased sense of competence; (b) Management of Emotions, including lust and hate as well as affection and respect; (c) Development of Autonomy, comprising emotional and instrumental independence and capped by recognition of interdependence; (d) Development of Identity, comprising clarification of sexual identification and increased self-understanding and self-acceptance; (e) Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships, comprising not only increased ease with those different from oneself, but also relationships of intimacy characterized by mutuality and freedom rather than narcissism and constraint; (f) Development of Purpose, comprising stabilization of interests, of vocational plans and aspirations, and of plans for marriage, family, and general life style; (g) Development of Integrity, comprising the humanizing and personalizing of values, and increased congruence.

When colleges primarily prepared ministers, teachers, and aristocrats for their future occupations and when few attended college, exclusive concentration on the development of intellectual competence and social graces was sufficient for the needs of the students and of the society. But as universal higher education becomes a reality such a definition of purpose and responsibility no longer suffices. The college must address itself to other major aspects of student development. To do so requires more than preparing students to pass finals and to score high on tests for graduate school admission. It requires informed, thoughtful, and dedicated effort and sustained attention to the total college environment if the major vectors of development important to the young adult are to be served.

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THE YOUNG ADULT - A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK[1].

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Adolescence is a fruit of the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century and the technological revolution of the twentieth. The increasing complexity of society, the increased number of jobs requiring specialized skills and training, and the extension of free public education through high school, created an adolescent period where none existed before.

Complexity continues to increase. So does the demand for skilled and specialized personnel. In 1953 2,000,000 enrolled for undergraduate and professional degrees; in 1963 the figure was 4,000,000; by 1973 7,000,000 are expected and this will be about forty-six percent of the college age population. "Universal higher education" is fast approaching. These new conditions are creating another developmental period, a period during which certain changes may be fostered and during which certain kinds of adjustment and development may predominate. Extending from age 17 or 18 into the middle or late twenties, this period is different from adolescence and different from adulthood and maturity. For many it will be the last opportunity for major change before the increased stability engendered by more fixed social interpersonal, and occupational roles and responsibilities.

This new period, that of the young adult, merits special study because, as Newcomb's recent report (11) indicates, the patterns established now are likely to persist. Further, because many will move through this period in a college setting, it merits special study so that institutions of higher education may better serve society and may more effectively help young persons move productively from adolescence to adulthood.

Research devoted to student development has increased dramatically during the last ten years. Jacob's literature survey which found minimal impact of college on values, whether right or wrong, served as a major stimulus. With Learned and Wood's early study and Newcomb's research at Bennington shining like beacons from the past, and with the Vassar studies as a contemporary benchmark, more and more investigators at more and more colleges are flooding students with questionnaires, personality inventories, and various measures of academic achievement and intellectual ability. These burgeoning efforts, almost without exception, have been "exploratory." Few explicit theories have been framed and few hypotheses have been tested. Thus, although these studies have generated much useful knowledge it remains in unintegrated form, a collection of significant items which must be examined and interpreted by each investigator who would use it for his own research and by each teacher or administrator who would use it for making practical decisions. The

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need for some synthesis, for some systematic framework to order this growing field, is acute. The formulation offered here is one man's response to that need. It has proved useful as a way to organize the literature, as a basis for analyses of data concerning students, colleges, and their interactions, and as a set of ideas relevant to practical decisions. In this paper only the major outline can be given. More detailed discussion with elaboration of supporting evidence is under preparation.

It should be recognized that these ideas derive almost entirely from research and theory based on college students, not on young adults outside college. The limited literature now available suggests, however, that there are many similarities between the two groups.

Seven Vectors of Development

In Zima Junction Yevtushenko (19) writes:

> I scarcely had one single care in the world,
> my life, presenting no big obstacles,
> seemed to have few or simple complications--
> life solved itself without my contributions.
> I had no doubts about harmonious answers
> which could and would be given to every question.
> But suddenly this felt necessity
> of answering these questions for myself.
> So I shall go on where I started from,
> sudden complexity, self-generated,
> disturbed by which I started on this journey.
>
> Into my native forest among those
> long-trodden roads I took this complication
> to take stock of that old simplicity,
> --like bride and groom, a country matchmaking.
> So there stood youth and there childhood together,
> trying to look into each other's eyes
> and each offending, but not equally.
> Each wanted the other to start talking.
> Childhood spoke first, "Hullo then,
> It's your fault if I hardly recognized you.
> I thought you'd be quite different from this.
> I'll tell you honestly, you worry me.
> You're still in very heavy debt to me."
> So youth asked if childhood would help,
> and childhood smiled and promised it would help.
> They said good-bye, and, walking attentively,
> watching the passers-by and the houses,
> I stepped happily, uneasily out
> through Zima Junction, that important town.

These words evoke well the feelings of the high school graduate as he enters his first employment, the feelings of the college freshman as he carries his new suit, floor lamp, tennis racket, and Websters Collegiate Dictionary into the barren cubicle which is his room, as he meets other students in the registration line, as he says "Sir" to his first faculty member.

From this tentative and hopeful beginning, what follows? What changes occur as the high school graduate invests his energy in the vocations and avocations open and interesting to him; as the student lives with his college and becomes part of that social system. What changes occur as they both encounter the seductions, hypocrisies, and dead spots, the ideals, opportunities, and challenges, of their respective settings.

The major constellations of development during adolescence and early adulthood have been variously formulated; as "growth trends" (14), as "developmental tasks" (5), as "stages of development" (4), as "needs and problem areas" (7), as "student typologies" (6, 9). These different formulations accompany differences in point of departure, in emphasis, and in approach. Examination of them, however, suggests seven major vectors of development: development of competence, management of emotions, development of autonomy, freeing of interpersonal relationships, development of purpose, development of identity, and development of integrity. And each of these seven has its major components. They are here called "vectors of development" because each seems to have direction and magnitude, even though the direction is more appropriately expressed by a spiral or by steps, than by a straight line. The term "vector" is also used because it calls up echoes of Kurt Lewin whose ideas have led to many concepts basic to improved understanding of personality development in college.

Development of Competence

Competence is a three-tined pitchfork. One tine is intellectual competence and the major efforts of most educational institutions are devoted to fostering or to forcing such development. Another tine is physical and manual skills; a kind of development of concern to many non-college young persons, and of concern to some college students because of the prestige and recreational values residing in athletic skills and because of the creative and vocational possibilities of some arts and some crafts. The third tine is social and interpersonal competence; (13) the area of greatest concern to the young adult and one where significant development frequently occurs without explicit support from family, employer, or college. But the most important part of the pitchfork is the handle. Without a handle you can't pitch much hay even if the tines are sound, and the handle is "sense of competence" (13), the confidence one has in his ability to cope with what comes and to achieve successfully what he sets out to do.

R. W. White recently thrust the concept of competence into the arenas of human motivation and personality development. He says, "I am referring to the adolescent equivalent of what Erikson calls a sense of industry. . . . No doubt I bring to this judgment an occupational bias different from that of a therapist. My professional life is spent among late adolescents whose sexual problems and social relations have for the most part not over-whelmed them. We talk together about their plans for study, their abilities and limitations, their struggles with materials to be learned and skills to be attained, their occupational leanings, career plans, and concerns about modern society as the scene of their future endeavors. We talk, in other words, mostly about their competence, and I do not believe that understanding is fostered by interpreting these concerns too much a displacement of instinctual drive, defense mechanism, or interpersonal relations. They are 'real.'" (15)

Competence is pursued from early childhood and it continues to be important in college. The development and demonstration of intellectual competence influences the professional and vocational alternatives later available. Interpersonal competence is also important; most tasks require cooperative effort and effectiveness depends upon the ability to work productively with others. He who is crude in social relationships, who lacks poise, is handicapped. Within the family such competencies can be neglected; when an independent life is launched they cannot. Most important, the sense of competence developed during these years effects not only the assurance and vigor brought to adult tasks, but also effects other concurrent vectors of development.

Management of Emotions

"Management of Emotions" suggests priority for problems of control and the most publicized reports of college students reinforce this notion. But from inside most students there are added dimensions of equal significance. Sanford describes the typical freshman as authoritarian; "strong impulses are opposed by an alert, rigid, and punitive conscience." He exhibits, says Sanford, "stereotyped thinking, intolerance of ambiguity, punitive morality, submissiveness toward the powerful and dominance toward the weak, conventionality, anti-intellectualism, hostility toward people perceived to be different." (12) Because of such repressive forces and automatic reactions the first task is to become aware of feelings and to trust them more, to recognize that they provide information relevant to contemplated behavior or to decisions about future plans. Before emotional control can become effective emotions have to be experienced, to be felt and perceived for what they are. Biological forces provoke sexual desire. Contact with a broadened life space provokes hostility toward parents and toward more generalized authority. Until lust and hate are admitted as legitimate emotions, as legitimate as love or admiration, their motive power is less likely to be harnessed to productive ends. Further, problems of control are aggravated because such feelings may be expressed in unrecognized ways or with unexpected intensity, thus triggering unintelligible behavior by others or serious unanticipated consequences.

There are basically two wild horses to befriend, to tame, and to harness: aggression and sex. Aggression already has been somewhat domesticated; sex is new to the corral, fresh, strong, unruly, unpredictable. Since childhood the young adult has been trying to develop legitimate ways to express anger and hate. To achieve maturity still new modes must be developed, developed in the face of fresh provocations and new conditions of living. He may not have to go so far as the college professor, who, when critisized by a colleague would pry open his mouth and spit down his throat, but instead says, "That's an interesting point--on the other hand another explanation might be . . ." But the young adult does have to acquire new conventions and become sensitive to new subtleties. Sexual impulses, of course, make more insistent demands and require more widespread adjustments. Questions of interpersonal relationships, of value, and of identity are sharply raised and answers must be given. Pressures from parents and peers are great; signals are often confusing or self-contradictory.

Increased awareness of aggressive and sexual impulses is only a beginning, not an ending. Integration of emotions with the stream of ongoing decisions and behavior requires tentative testing through direct actions or symbolic behavior and reflection upon the consequences for oneself and others. Thereby a larger range of feelings can be fully experienced. Thereby new and more useful patterns of expression and control can be achieved. Genuine freedom of emotions can then

exist because of increased confidence they won't run wild and because experience and observation has taught the likely consequences. Then in time, management of emotions becomes not a matter of repression, but of time, place, and behavior, of learning what can be done with whom, when, and under what circumstances. Of course increased awareness and developing more useful and effective modes of expression go along together; ideal[illegible] oscillation gives way to a spiral carrying the larger process of development.

Development of Autonomy

Yevtushenko "stepped happily, uneasily out through Zima Junction, that important town." During the first weeks, a college student steps with similar hesitancy. Quite soon he changes. He becomes independent. But it is the independence of a hog on ice. He is on slippery new territory and without familiar footholds; he responds with wild thrashing or bewildered and anxious immobility. Free of accustomed restraints or outside pressures there is random activity or rigid adherence to behaviors appropriate to former situations. The dominant impression is instability. There is a conspicuous lack of coordination and little observable progress in any direction. Autonomy, the independence of maturity is quite different. It is secure and stable; coping behaviors are well coordinated to personal and social ends. This kind of maturity requires both emotional and instrumental independence, and recognition of one's interdependencies. To be emotionally independent is to be free from continual and pressing needs for reassurance, affection, or approval. It begins with disengagement from parents. Perhaps for the first time parents are seen for what they are, middle aged persons neither omniscient nor omnipotent. Earlier faith in these strong and reliable guides cannot outlive mounting evidences of their weakness and fallibility. Doubt, anxiety, disillusionment, anger, arise. Reliance is transferred to peers, to non-parental adults, and to occupational and institutional reference groups. In time there is less need for such supports, and there is increased willingness to risk loss of friends, or approval, or status, to pursue a strong interest or to stand by important beliefs.

Instrumental independence has two major components, the ability to carry on activities and to cope with problems without seeking help, and the ability to be mobile in relation to one's needs or desires. Among college students achievement of emotional independence may be hampered by limited opportunities to develop instrumental independence. In college most "work" is academic: right answers are presumed to exist; prescribed ways to meet problems are spelled out; assistance is sought if difficulties are encountered. These conditions, under-girded by financial dependence on parents, impede development of instrumental independence, complicate the development of emotional independence, and obscure the basic interdependencies existing between parent and offspring, old and young, teacher and student.

Recognition and acceptance of "interdependence" (17, 18) is the capstone for development of autonomy. It is realized that parents cannot be dispensed with except at the price of continuing pain for all; that one cannot be supported indefinitely without working for it; that the benefits of a social structure cannot be received without contributing to it; that loving and being loved are necessarily complementary. As such interdependence is recognized and accepted, boundaries of personal choice become more clear. One can become a more effective agent for himself. A particular existence can be carved out of the larger physical, social, and historical context. Thus only with resolution of the ranges within which one can give and

can receive do problems of dependence, independence and autonomy become more settled. But because changing conditions, skin-in and skin-out, make for changing tolerances, no final settlement can occur; autonomy continually must be recreated.

Development of Identity

A haiku by Shiki has been translated:

"Following the bank . . .
For miles no river spanning bridge
This long spring day." (2)

To the young adult the day seems long and the bank uneven while that bridge to adulthood is built. But if there is a single bridge to adulthood identity is it. Development of identity depends in part upon the other vectors already mentioned: competence, emotions, and autonomy. But it is more than simply the aggregate of change in these other areas. R. W. White says, "identity refers to the self or the person one feels oneself to be. . . . Gradually, the sense of identity becomes a fuller and richer establishment, compounded of bodily sensations, feelings, images of one's body, the sound of one's name, the continuity of one's memories, and an increasing number of social judgments delivered through the words and behavior of others." (14) According to Erikson, identity is, "The accrued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others." (3)

The development of identity is like learning to drive. (3) Progress occurs in fits and starts; there is much wandering from one side of the road to the other. But with experience and practice change occurs. The driver comes to know the vehicle and its peculiar requirements for starting and operation. Customary noises assure soundness; unusual ones prompt informed and rational action. The ways of the road become familiar; the driver recognizes his own limits and those imposed by certain conditions. In time snow or rain, occasional skids, heavy traffic, or mechanical difficulties are encountered with assurance and with confidence that though delays may occur, the trip will be completed with reasonable success. Then driving becomes a pleasure not a chore, and other things can be attended to along the way.

Another example of the development of identity is Gardner Murphy's "human rhythms," which he illustrates by photic driving. If an individual submits himself to an instrument which emits flashes at intervals he may reveal his own breaking point, the point at which the rhythm induces a convulsion. If, for example, the number is sixteen, he may rapidly lose consciousness as this number is presented in the standard time interval. Seventeen and fifteen, however, are safe numbers for him. It is not until thirty-two or some other multiple of sixteen is reached that he breaks again. Like the piano wire that hums or like the glass that shatters, we all probably have our critical frequencies in a variety of areas. The development of identity can be seen as the process of discovering with what kinds of experience, at what levels of intensity and frequency, we resonate in satisfying, in safe, or in self-destructive fashion.

In addition to this inner sense and in addition to the change in the vectors already discussed, development of identity involves two other major factors: clarification of conceptions concerning physical needs and characteristics and personal

appearance, and clarification of sexual identification and of sex appropriate roles and behavior. The young adult is a bit like a cooperative apartment where all members have access to the termostat. One member pushes the heat up causing discomfort to another; his readjustment goes too far for a third. Then a change in outside temperature may lead to discomfort for all and provoke more frantic attempts at adjustment and control. Similarly, the young adult experiences both inside and outside forces causing sharp and apparently arbitrary swings from hot to cold and back again. To maintain a temperature in the "comfort zone" can be an absorbing and difficult task.

For older persons accustomed to relative stability in size and proportion, accustomed to wearing the same "Sunday suit" for five years, accustomed to a limited range of well routinized motor coordination, the upset and disorientation caused by shifts in physique, environment, and culture, are hard to imagine. To recapture some sense of such feelings brush your teeth or wipe yourself with the wrong hand. The uncertainties and discomfort, and the ambiguous results, reflect in a small way daily experiences of the adolescent and young adult.

Evidence that college students are concerned with their appearance is not hard to find. Matters of dress cause some faculty members, deans, and presidents distress. Though gowns no longer prevail, town members recognize the students. The range of variation may be large or small and prevailing styles may be slovenly or impeccable depending on the student culture and on college rules and regulations. Whatever the limitations or prescriptions, experimentation occurs. With clarification of identity however, experimentation diminishes. By graduation most of the early creative (or bizarre) variations are given up; a few persons retain an individualistic style, most have become comfortable with the normal range.

Sexual identification is closely related to experimentation with dress and appearance. It is interesting that experimentation with hair seems concentrated among men rather than women. Whoever wrote about Samson and Delilah knew his stuff; if preoccupation with hair is any sign, many college men are uncertain how much of the Samson there is about them. Finding out what it means to be a man or to be a woman and coming to terms with the limitations, the behaviors, and the usual roles absorbs much energy. For a few the problem has special difficulties leading to homosexual relationships of varying explicitness, intensity, and duration. For all, clarification of sexual identification and development of appropriate and satisfying behaviors is central to the development of identity.

Once achieved, a solid sense of identity fosters change in other major vectors of development: the freeing of interpersonal relationships, the development of purpose, and the development of integrity.

Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships

A sense of identity can free interpersonal relationships like spring sun on the Alps. The ice thaws. That which was bound flows. Clean clear crystals appear and the flat white begins to sparkle. Silence gives way to music and flowers bloom. As R. W. White observes, relationships become "less anxious, less defensive, less burdened by inappropriate past reactions, more friendly, more spontaneous, more warm, and more respectful." (14) This aspect of development is different from interpersonal competence. That involved learning to manage oneself and others to accomplish tasks requiring joint effort; this involves developing tolerance

for a wider range of persons. Tolerance here means not only to "put up with," but also not to be upset by dosages that earlier caused distress. Ideally, this tolerance does not develop through increased resistance and immunization but through increased capacity to respond to persons in their own right rather than as stereotypes or transference objects calling for particular conventions.

In addition to increased tolerance, there is also a shift in the quality of intimate relationships. For most adolescent couples, each is the pool and each the narcissus. Satisfying relationships depend upon spatial proximity so each can nod to the other and in the reflection see what he looks like. As Erikson says, "the youth who is not sure of his identity shies away from interpersonal intimacy; but the surer he becomes of himself, the more he seeks it in the form of friendship, combat, leadership, love and inspiration. There is a kind of adolescent attachment . . . which is often mistaken for mere sexual attachment or for love . . . such attachment is often devoted to an attempt at arriving at a definition of one's identity by talking things over endlessly, by confessing what one feels like and what the other seems like, and by discussing plans, wishes, and expectations." (3) With the achievement of greater autonomy and a more firm sense of identity, such relationships shift toward greater trust, independence, and individuality. They are less symbiotic and therefore the support provided is more simple and strong, more implicit, more taken for granted, more to be relied on. These friendships and loves survive the development of differences; they survive episodes of disagreement; they persist through periods of separation and non-communication.

Development of Purpose

Many young adults are all dressed up and don't know where to go; they have energy but no destination. The dilemma is not just 'Who am I?'; but 'Who am I going to be?'; not just 'Where am I?' but 'Where am I going?' Development of purpose occurs as these questions are answered with increasing clarity and conviction. The answers are usually found at the confluence of three major streams, streams grown large with age flowing from three watersheds: from avocational and recreational interests, from vocational plans and aspirations, and from general life style considerations. When these streams are brought together, the river flows with depth, substance, and direction. It will flow despite drought and even if one tributary is dammed or deflected; it will not run wild every downpour.

R. W. White terms a major aspect of development in college "deepening of interests." He says, "interests are often of tremendous importance in the personal economy of happiness. The loss of opportunities to pursue them can sometimes be an irreparable catastrophe . . . . Under reasonably favorable circumstances a person becomes increasingly capable of having his energies absorbed in the needs and properties of the objects with which he is working . . . . The trend we have in mind is away from a state in which interests are casual, quickly dropped, pursued only from motives that do not become identified with the advancement of the object. It is toward a state in which the sense of reward comes from doing something for its own sake." (14) R. J. Kuhlen, reviewing research on interests through the adolescent period, reports findings congruent with White's observations. Kuhlen found that rate of change in interests slowed down enough that tests given in the late teens could predict adult interests. (7)

Some of the increased stability and deepening of interests derives from their relationships to vocational plans and aspirations, which also are becoming more clear and firm. For boys, development of purpose receives its primary trust

from the clarification of such plans and aspirations. For girls, the salience of vocational plans is either sharply reduced by impending marriage or engagement, or is complicated by uncertainties regarding marriagability. Kuhlen, after examining research on the development of vocational plans says, "age sixteen is the age at which vocational interests frequently begin . . . . It would seem that the middle teens thus is the period when vocational planning and thinking are most activ:." (7) It is worth noting that Kuhlen's book was published in 1952 so his observations are based on research reports prior to the increased interest in higher education. The research of White and others with college students suggests that the active vocational planning and thinking which begins in high school continues in college. During these years alternatives are explored, but development does not necessarily depend upon specifying a clear and explicit vocational choice or objective. Perhaps most often it is simply discovery or confirmation of a general orientation which may leave open a f :ly wide range of future choices, but which permits meaningful next steps to be taken.

Research by Beardslee and O'Dowd demonstrates the interactions of vocational plans and general life style considerations. From study of nondirective interviews they report, "Students chose to talk primarily about the aspect of . . . occupations that may best be called their implications for style of life. They commented spontaneously on how a lawyer, doctor, or engineer and his family live rather than the character of his work. They described easily and naturally the community status associated with different occupational roles; the personality and quality of family relationships implied by each of several jobs were frequently mentioned. In general occupations were primarily seen as leading to different ways of life that varied considerably in attractiveness . . . . For most students the working hours in their occupational future were less real than the leisure hours . . . . In summary, an occupation is . . . the means by which they will attain a given mode of living, and only secondarily a set of skills and responsibilities." (1)

Development of purpose, then, requires formulating plans and priorities which integrate avocational and recreational interests, vocational plans, and life style considerations. With such integration life flows with direction and meaning.

Development of Integrity

Closely related to the development of purpose is the development of integrity, the clarification of a personally valid set of beliefs which have some internal consistency, and which provide at least a tentative guide for behavior. Such development involves three overlapping stages; the humanizing of values, the personalizing of values, and the development of integrity.

"Humanizing of values" is R. W. White's term to describe the shift from a literal belief in the absoluteness of rules to a more relative view where connections are made between rules and the purposes they are meant to serve. Thus the rules for a ball game can change to accommodate limited numbers of players or other unusual conditions; rules concerning honesty, sex, or aggressive behavior can vary with circumstance and situation. This change has also been called "liberalization of the superego" or "enlightenment of conscience." (12) The process by which the rigid rules received unquestioned from parents are reformulated in the light of wider experience and made relevant to new conditions.

During childhood parents' values are internalized so that most behavior is in accord even when parents are absent. Contrary behavior produces either diffuse

anxiety or specific fear of discovery and punishment. Most of the values are inexplicit and unconsciously held; the child can neither identify them nor explain their basis. Therefore they are little subject to conscious control or modification. With humanizing of values much of this baggage comes to light. The contents are examined. Many items are discarded on brief inspection, sometimes with later regrets; some items are tried on and found unsuitable; a few are set aside for the new wardrobe.

Personalizing of values (13) occurs as the new wardrobe is assembled. Developing a sound and well fitting collection takes time. It involves much shopping around and much self-appraisal in front of multi-faced mirrors. Ultimately, the items selected are those required by the characteristics of the wearer, by the work he expects to do, by the situations he expects to encounter, and by the persons who are, and will be, important to him. In short, he selects to suit himself and to suit the conditions of his existence. In time the components of this wardrobe "are actively embraced . . . and thus become constituents of self, part of what the person feels himself to be and to stand for. Characteristically their application involves more finely differentiated cognitive discriminations than is the case with superego values, and they can therefore be applied with more flexibility, appropriateness, and rationality. As one measures oneself and one's behavior against these standards, his self esteem rises or falls . . . . Since they are integrated in the self rather than sealed off in infantile form, they are open to progressive modification and elaboration . . . . they are sustained by the individual's active commitment to them as the values he chooses to live by." (13)

Personalizing of values, then, leads toward the development of integrity, the achievement of behavior congruent with the personalized values held. With this final stage, internal debate is minimized. Once the implications of a situation are understood and the consequences of alternatives seem clear, the response is highly determined; it is made with conviction, without debate or equivocation. Erikson puts it this way, "Although aware of the relativity of all the various life styles which have given meaning to human striving, the possessor of integrity is ready to defind the dignity of his own life style against all physical and economic threats. For he knows that an individual life is the accidental coincidence of but one life cycle with but one segment of history; and that for him all human integrity stands or falls with the one style of integrity of which he partakes." (4)

In Conclusion

These then, are the seven major developmental vectors for the young adult: development of competence, management of emotions, development of autonomy, development of identity, freeing of interpersonal relationships, development of purpose, development of integrity. Each has its major components and more detailed study reveals further ramifications. This overview, however, suggests the major configurations. Many colleges and universities have long given lip service to some of these but now words must be joined by deeds. When colleges simply served to prepare ministers, teachers, and aristocrats for their future occupations, and when few attended college, exclusive concentration on the development of intellectual competence and social graces was sufficient for the needs of the students and of the society. But as universal higher education becomes a reality such a narrow definition of purpose and responsibility no longer suffices. During the next twenty years it is the college graduate who will assume control of the occupational, political, educational, and religious organizations of this country. The society

which results depends upon the kinds of persons they become. It is the prime responsibility of the college and university to address that larger task. To do so requires more than preparing students to pass finals and to score high on tests for graduate school admission; it requires informed, thoughtful, and dedicated effort, and it requires attention to the total college environment if better management of emotions, freer interpersonal relationships, and the development of competence, autonomy, identity, purpose, and integrity, are to be fostered.

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